

HOUSING: CENTRAL CITY SLUMS, A CASE STUDY OF IBADAN

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Abstract

Ibadan is among the first one hundred largest cities in the world which translates into pressures on land and thus high urban dynamics. This study is an effort to identify and highlight the housing and central city slum trend in Ibadan, a city in the South West Region of Nigeria. Its goal is to examine the process of change of Ibadan from a well-known historical war camp of the Yoruba people to its present state and its capacity to become a slum city. The Objectives are to examine the growth and development of Ibadan city; examine the process of housing changes; Identify the socio economic aspect of the change process; Provide explanation to structural and lateral changes in the city; and evaluate various planning initiatives.

This paper addressed the adverse effects of the unprecedented population growth and consequent increase in urbanization of Ibadan on the inhabitants. The poor socio-economic state of the nation as well as its various housing implications was examined. The paper concludes that the government effort to stop slum development will be to no avail unless they accept that slums have become inevitable phenomenon in urban areas which has no quick fix solution. However, it could be nipped in the bud using the following recommended approaches: slum upgrade option, sites-and-services scheme and embracing raw earth building technology.

Key Word: Housing, City, Slums, Urbanization

1.0 Introduction

According to (Tomori, 2010) the growth of Ibadan into metropolitan city brings luxuries and opportunities, real or imagined which are not found in the rural areas. These attractions lead city to grow at a rate that become difficult to manage. Essentially, undue presence is exerted on the existing public utilities while services are extended legally and illegally to the unplanned new areas. So, it seems that the more utility services provided, the more they are demanded. As a result, the utility services become inadequate and thus increasing the cost of doing business which in turn mitigate against all efforts to reduce the widening poverty gap. This actually calls for effective administrative framework, good governance and urban management capacity. There should be coordination among the various institutions which are responsible for the planning and management of the urban environment. Ibadan for a long time has no master plan leading to uncontrolled urban growth and haphazard and unsustainable development. Refuse collection, deforestation and flooding of the city has defied solution for almost a century now (Tomori, 2010). The solutions lies in the holistic mobilization of resources, demonstration of political will, socio economic interventions, regional planning and other essential elements of urban maintenance and growth must be marshaled in an integrated manner that allow the extended metropolis to operate as an integrated system and yet permit each community or neighborhood to achieve its goal of corporate existence.

In line with (Labinjoh, 1991) the city is on autonomous phenomenon, the exploration of whose historical, cultural economic and political ramifications is not only intellectually exciting, but also contributes immensely to our understanding of the larger society. Just as there have been great empires in history, there have also been great cities past and present reflecting various flourishing civilizations. That can be said of Ibadan which indeed is a city of earlier epoch that seems to have refused to change (Labinjoh, 1991). Just as empires rose and fell in history some cities have developed tremendously while others have simply decayed. Ibadan is a curious mixture of the two experiences: it has not really developed economically and physically, but it has not decayed. Ibadan city was, and still is, a place of conflict, an arena in which rival classes and emerging status groups struggled for power, a place in which the major changes, structural, institutional and ideological, in the larger society produced fundamental reactions affecting the structure of social and political behaviour.

1.2 Definition of Slums and Squatters

The (Britannica, 2003) defined a slum as a densely populated usually urban area marked by crowding, dirty run-down housing, poverty, and social disorganization. Also, slums as defined by (United Nations, 2007) are run-down area of a city characterized by substandard housing and squalor and lacking in tenure security. According to (Fourchard, 2003) slums are defined as those areas that are yet to develop in terms of good planning and settlement. Some of the characteristics of slums are that they lack infra-structural facilities, have no planned layout and the residents are

predominantly poor and illiterate. Slums are areas that concentrate low-income earners, low-cost houses, possibly mud houses, no layout and poor inhabitants.

According to (World Bank/UNCHS, 2000) slums are highly congested urban areas, inhabited by urban squatters, marked by deteriorated, unsanitary buildings, poverty, and social disorganization. In addition, they are also considered as a residential area in an urban locality inhabited by the very poor who have no access to tenured land of their own. Therefore, slums could also be referred to as squatter settlements. The slums are characterized by substandard housing units, acute shortage of dwelling units which resulted in overcrowding, poor urban living conditions, and services and infrastructure below the adequate or minimum levels, and indeed high crime rates (World Bank/UNCHS, 2000).

In line with (United Nations, 2007) The term has traditionally referred to housing areas that were once relatively affluent but which deteriorated as the original dwellers moved on to newer and better parts of the city, but has come to include the vast informal settlements found in cities in the developing world. Although their characteristics vary between geographic regions, they are usually inhabited by the very poor or socially disadvantaged. Slum buildings vary from simple shacks to permanent and well-maintained structures. Most slums lack clean water, electricity, sanitation and other basic services (United Nations, 2007).

According to (Indymedia, 2008) the characteristics and politics associated with slums vary from place to place. Slums are usually characterized by urban decay, high rates of poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment. They are commonly seen as breeding grounds for social problems such as crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, high rates of mental illness, and suicide. In many poor countries they exhibit high rates of disease due to unsanitary conditions, malnutrition, and lack of basic health care. Rural depopulation with thousands arriving daily into the cities makes slum clearance an uphill struggle. A UN Expert Group has created an operational definition of a slum as an area that combines to various extents the following characteristics: inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding; and insecure residential status (United Nations, 2007).

1.3 Costs of Living in Slums

Total financial expenditures of households cannot be provided for due to methodological reasons, but costs of rent, transportation and water can be approximately calculated. If the rent is one of the cheapest in Ibadan, living in the area presents additional costs due to the necessary charges for transportation and water. Another major problem in the core area is the unavailability of water and light (Akinyode, 1998). The level of insecurity in the slum area reveals some interesting findings (Idemudia, 2003). The poverty of the area and its exclusiveness (pathways, no public places, no place of work, poor knowledge of his neighbours) so, there is more feeling of insecurity in the slum than in residential areas. The slum areas are not areas of moral and social deviance, criminality and delinquency (Mabogunje, 1968).

2.0 Slum Formation Processes and Spatial Types in Ibadan

According to (Agbola 1987), two types of slum exist in Nigerian cities. There are the traditional slums arising in towns from the decay of existing structures and there are spontaneous slums created by squatters on illegally acquired lands. If this pattern represents the majority of the slums in Ibadan, it is necessary to reconsider the use of such terms as “traditional” and “spontaneous”, and to show that some slums can appear outside the inner city on legal land. In line with (Urban Leadership, & Grigg, 2010) despite a great range of varieties mentioned above, slums fall into two broad categories: declining areas and progressing settlements each of which can, for the purposes of expanded analysis, be broken into: 1. Declining areas: old city centre slums; and new slum estates. 2. Progressing settlements: squatter settlements; and semi-legal subdivisions.

2.1 Inner-city slums: Inner-city slums gave birth to the concept of the slum; the process whereby central, prosperous residential areas of cities undergo deterioration as their original owners move out to newer, more salubrious and more fashionable residential areas. This is a commonplace and predictable consequence of the growth and expansion of cities, manifest by both an increase in the central commercial and manufacturing areas and activities, and the influx of migrants looking for employment opportunities. Initially, the housing vacated by the better-off is still structurally sound and serviceable, and provides an ideal housing opportunity for those willing to make do with less space and shared amenities. The location of buildings provides residents with good access to employment opportunities. Since the buildings were originally built for middle- and high-income groups, they are usually reasonably well serviced with urban infrastructure, though, over time, as dwellings are increasingly subdivided and the level of overcrowding grows, strain on those services can reach breaking point.

Agreeing with (Amole et al. 1991) in Ibadan, the inner-city core area consists of the oldest, the lowest-quality and the highest- density residences of the city. Housing is constructed of mud, with virtually no sanitation facilities. It is highly residential, up to 90% in Elekuro ward, and the simultaneous presence of many old markets and street trading in the area cause traffic congestion and exacerbates overcrowding while providing essential employment and services. Some of the wealthier people of Ibadan, who were born in the core area, have kept their family house for cultural and familial reasons, although they now live in villas in the new government estates. However, the buildings and land that they

occupy remain sacred to the original owning family and it is very difficult to change them from residential use. They are of little economic value but are precious to their multiple-related owners.

2.2 Slum Estates: This category differs from the traditional city centre slum in that the structures are relatively new and generally not in private ownership. Examples include both public housing estates and housing built by industry or to house industrial workers, such as the hostels that have experienced social problems arising from overcrowded and pressured conditions, making residents vulnerable to organized crime and political exploitation. Ironically, in Ibadan city, much of the public housing built between the 1950s and 1970s to re-house the residents of central city slums and squatter settlements, typically in four- to five-storey tenement blocks with minimal, if any, community amenities, has itself now joined the stock of slums. Housing and living conditions in public housing estates have been further worsened through the lack of appropriate dweller control or involvement in the day, to-day management and maintenance of either individual dwelling units or the housing estates as a whole, including their public infrastructure. Often, this has also been accompanied by the omission, closure or breakdown of common amenities and facilities, usually due to shortages of resources to address the extent of need. Another common reason for the deterioration of relatively new public housing estates has been their peripheral location on the edges of cities where land was available, but access to work, markets, kin and social amenities was not. The relative isolation of such estates meant that the cost of transport was often unaffordable to the low, income inhabitants. As a result, they became abandoned by all but the most destitute and desperate.

2.3 Recent slums: Recently developed slum neighbourhoods are often similar to the consolidated informal settlements, but are newer and unconsolidated. Their newness is expressed in poorer, less permanent materials, especially in settlements where residents are unsure of whether and for how long they will be allowed to stay before being evicted. where evictions are common, or on sites where they are unlikely to be left alone, shacks are likely to be very rudimentarily built of recycled or very impermanent materials (such as straightened oil drums, used corrugated metal sheets, plastic and canvas sheets, cardboard cartons and discarded timber). Infrastructure is likely to be absent or only available through clandestine connections. New or recently established slums tend to have lower densities as there are fewer constraints and less competition for the land; recently developed slums are generally found on the periphery of the built-up area of the city, or in pockets of even more marginal land than the more established slums. Increasingly, occupants of the newer slums often use the grid-iron layout; there are several advantages in adopting grid layouts: It is easy to layout; there is a stronger likelihood of obtaining urban services and recognition if the settlement is orderly; there are likely to be fewer disruptions and demolitions when services are installed.

2.4 Peripheral: Slums on the city fringes are, either squatter settlements in which households have invaded (usually public) land, or they occupy land that has been subdivided and for which they have paid or entered a rent-purchase arrangement with the developer or landowner. The urban periphery has distinct advantages over more central and urbanized areas as there is less competition for the use or control of land, especially if it is located outside of the municipal boundaries. Peripheral slums can be quite large settlements since they are rarely constrained by competing development.

In many cases, the quality of housing is relatively good - significantly better than is to be found in the adjoining rural areas - but the level of services is generally low. While this is not a great hazard to health and amenity when the overall density is low - as it can be during the early period of development - it can become a serious problem as the slum grows larger and denser. An overriding problem facing peripheral slum dwellers is the low level of access and high cost of transport to jobs, markets, schools and the centres of administration of public services. Thus, households living in Peripheral urban areas can spend up to 30 per cent of their incomes on transport, or as much as three to four hours a day walking to and from work and school. A very significant feature of informal settlements on the urban periphery is their potential for efficient and effective upgrading through the provision of infrastructure and public services,

3.0 Ibadan Central City Slum

As mentioned in the section on 'Inner-city slums,' central- city slums tend to have been formed by the classic process where central, prosperous residential areas of cities undergo deterioration as their original owners move out to newer, more salubrious and more fashionable residential areas. Initially, the housing vacated by the better-off, which generally has reasonable infrastructure and services, is ideal for those willing to trade off less space and shared amenities in for access to employment opportunities. Centrality of location does not necessarily imply the old city, or the central business or commercial centres of cities. As used here, it also embraces formal industrial areas, ports, wholesale markets and other areas of employment that are some distance from the central business district (CBD). Residents of slums that are located close to such zones are able to benefit from the high concentrations of employment opportunities, especially those related to unskilled and casual jobs. They are also likely to be better off in terms of transportation because of the tendency for cities to grow outwards radially and, therefore, to have roads and transport converging on centres of formal employment. This makes centrally located slums much more suitable for unskilled workers. If the neighbourhood originated in the old city centre, then it may also have the benefit of substantial buildings and a

reasonable level of infrastructure and services, though it may have fallen into disrepair and infrastructure may be severely overloaded.

3.1 The Challenges of Ibadan City Slums,

According to (Urban Leadership, & Grigg, 2010) spatial forms and the physical location of slums vary from region to region, from city to city and even within the same city. The working definitions of slums, suggested above, as non-complying with building regulations and standards, having inadequate basic services provision and insecure tenure status, leave a great deal of room for variation, from marginally inadequate in one feature to being a place of multiple insanitary and deprived conditions. Though the term slum includes the traditional meaning of housing areas that were once respectable or even desirable, but which have since deteriorated, it has come to include the vast informal settlements that are quickly becoming the most visual expression of urban poverty. Indeed, the majority of dwellings in most of the world's developing cities are in slums

In line with (UN-HABITAT. 2003) many important historic cities are in danger of terminal obsolescence. Many peripheral neighbourhoods, even in the same cities, are being constructed with the characteristics of slums from day one, or soon after. Some of these are government or employer built estates of low cost housing, providing minimal accommodation for formal sector workers. These often quickly deteriorate through lack of maintenance and unplanned levels of occupancy. Some are even built to standards of servicing that render them inadequate. Others are informally built, peripheral settlements that ring many developing cities. There is astonishing dynamism displayed in the founding and improvement of these settlements, and the lessons learned from them should not be ignored. At their earliest stage, they may be extremely poorly built and on serviced; but through the years they can develop into sturdy, well-serviced neighbourhoods. The transition from one to the other is not, however, automatic; encouragement and de facto security are important. In central city areas, many dwellings are steeped in family history and are precious, although they are of little value. In addition, some households are so poor that even a ramshackle shack is more than they can bear to lose.

Many of the slums are very tiny, perched on a traffic island, on a small piece of back land in the business district, next to the railway goods depot. The issues they face may have less to do with servicing, as they can often free-ride on other people's water supply and sanitation. Instead, they have greater issues of security and recognition, and concerns about who will defend them against threats of eviction. At the same time, they may be holding up important development, or creating dangers for themselves and others. The task of solving the dilemma they present for city authorities is, therefore, beset with problems. Were all of these slums simply illegal, then the tenure issue and their security would be much clearer. However, they possess many grades of security, leaving a much more complex context of intervention for the authorities and a more difficult future of improvement or decline to predict. This dynamic trajectory of the neighbourhood, whether it is in decline or progressing, was memorably expressed many years ago as the dichotomy of slums of despair or slums of hope (Lloyd, 1979).

4.0 Ibadan Present Condition

Ibadan, one of the largest indigenous metropolitan areas in sub-Saharan Africa, has an estimated population of about two million coming from different parts of Nigeria and other parts of the world. The city, located on a major transport route to the northern parts of Nigeria, is the largest contemporary traditional Yoruba town.

The residential structure of the city can be divided into three homogenous groups: the core, the periphery, and the intermediate areas. The core area is the traditional area of the city, characterized by high levels of poverty, high density of population, and lack of physical planning, dilapidated buildings, poor sanitation, inadequate health facilities, slum settlements, high level of illiteracy, and low level of socioeconomic activities. The intermediate areas, including Molete, Oke-Ado, Mokola, Eleyele, Agbowo, etc., are areas of late development, mainly inhabited by migrants from other Yoruba towns and ethnic groups, or those who moved out of family compound houses located in the traditional areas of the city. The density of population here is lower than those of the traditional areas, and housing is also moderately scattered, although these are not well laid-out as those found in the peripheral areas. The periphery, including Old and New Bodija, University of Ibadan, Jericho, Iyaganku Government Reservation Areas, and other emerging well-planned areas of the city are inhabited mostly by the elite. These feature well laid-out residential apartments, low density of population, and essential social services. Healthcare needs of the population of the metropolis are served by the University College Hospital, two State hospitals, and several private medical facilities, in addition to traditional medical practitioners scattered all over the city (UN-HABITAT. 2003).

Ibadan metropolis used to be under one local Government, the Ibadan Municipal Government before it was split into five local government areas (LGAs) Southeast, Northeast, Southwest, Northwest, and North Central in 1991. Northeast and southeast, these two LGAs contain the largest slum areas in the city. The characteristics of these two LGAs, which fit the criteria for slums, include high density of population, inadequate health, education and social facilities, poor sanitation, inaccessible road network, lack of potable water, and erratic electricity supply. Housing patterns show no distinction between buildings, located in large family compounds (with up to three or four families in one building). Similarly, leisure or recreational facilities are non-existent. The lack of recreational facilities is, perhaps, responsible for

strong community organizations, such as cooperative societies that abound in the area and which enable residents to come together to implement community development activities in form of gated communities. The population structure consists of predominantly young people, with the majority aged 15-30 years, who work mostly as cobblers, seamstresses, tailors, and barbers and in other handicrafts. Although the population is predominantly Christian and Muslim, there is an active worship of deities. Overall, the majority of young people have some formal education, but many are currently out of school. Only a few communities have government health facilities and these are sparsely equipped. The only reliable health facility that residents patronize is the state-owned general hospital (Adeoyo Maternity Hospital is the nearest health facility owned by State government that is available to the communities. It is nearer than the more popular University College Hospital owned by Federal government, where special services are rendered), which is several kilometers away from many communities. Consequently, patent medicine stores (chemists) and itinerant medicine sellers serve the health needs of residents.

The Following Pictures Illustrate Ibadan Present Condition



View Of Oja Oba Market Sreet



Core Area of Bere Shows Some Derelicts Houses



Derelicts Houses in Bere; Lack of Drainage And Appropriate Waste Water Disposal.



Houses opposite Make Shift Wooden Houses in Ojo



Cement Houses opposite Make Shift Woodeen Houses in Ojo



Path Not Fit For Vehicles in Ojo And Preponderance of Petty Water Vendors.



No Appropriate Disposal in Ojoo



The Food Stuff Market in Sasa



Stinking area and massive valley Gege



Heavy Flood of Water in Ogunpa



Dilapidated house in badan



level of housing deterioration

5.0 Ibadan and Environmental Issues

Agreeing with (Tomori, 1979) as the metropolitan area of Ibadan continues to witness series of developmental activities, environmental risks arise from a wider array of sources which include air pollution from vehicles; household energy use; and industrial and power plants; land and water pollution from solid wastes and untreated sewage and traffic congestion, accidents and noise. These problems have more direct and immediate negative impacts on human health and safety, especially for the poor and on business productivity. Another consequence of poorly managed urbanization is the settlement on unstable and risky locations such as along Ogunpa, Kudeti, Ogbera and Orogun floodplains and hillside of Oke-Are, Oke-Aremo, Sapati and Mokola hills in the centre of the city. This phenomenon is partly responsible for the Ogunpa flood disasters and soil erosion. The urban poor live in crowded slums within the core residential areas of Ibadan (such as Ayeye, Agbeni, Bere etc), with limited basic infrastructure services, and without land and personal security. Within the city core residential areas, there is lack of comprehensive water and sewage systems, inadequate garbage collection and disposition and unstable urban environments that increase vulnerability to natural disasters and jeopardize public health. It has therefore become imperative to redevelop and modernize the decaying old core areas of the metropolis to make it more productive for business services. These indigenous areas need up-to-date communications infrastructure, more efficient, office complexes and social services to improve the living

conditions of the inhabitants. The road network lacks packing spaces and good drainage system to the extent that vehicles are parked along the indiscriminately in the night and during daylight when transacting business especially around markets and business centers.

The incidence of poverty in the metropolis is manifested in the number of miscreants/area boys at various points like Bere, Oke-Dada Idiarere and other areas of the city; these include homeless children in the garage and those sleeping under the bridges. This however, is not prevalent in the rural area of Ibadan. These categories of people and others do not have the opportunity to participate in society and in activities leading to improved health educational attainment, personal security, and other benefits. Because of its ever-increasing population and inadequate drainage system, Ibadan had suffered a lot from the problem of refuse disposal. This has resulted in blocking of the few existing drainage consequent upon which Ibadan's major river Kudeti and river Ogunpa and other smaller ones such as Ogberé stream, Orogun stream and Labelabe stream had to overflow their banks. Historically, flood disaster is not a new phenomenon in the history of Ibadan from 1902 to 1980 there were seven cases of flooding recorded (Tomori, 1979)

Sanitation Status: Sanitation provision in Ibadan is grossly deficient, as in most cities in sub-Saharan Africa: most people do not have access to a hygienic toilet; large amounts of faecal waste are discharged to the environment without adequate treatment; this is likely to have major impacts on infectious disease burden and quality of life (Hutton et al. 2007).

Challenges of evolution: Two of the most critical urban development issues facing Ibadan Metropolitan area and other cities in Nigeria are fiscal and social realities. The financing of urban infrastructure and the institutional arrangement for delivery of urban services; Ibadan does not currently have or follow any structural plan or master plan guiding the city growth. There are recent indications that master plans for major cities and towns in Oyo State are being considered in the year 2010 budget. Finally, Ibadan is drained by several rivers, the most popular of which is Ogunpa that has its course right in the heart of the city. Some of these rivers, exasperated by deforestations in and around the city, annually cause disastrous floods that result in the destruction of lives and property.

Urban Renewable: As a result of urban sprawl, the central city of Ibadan continues to deteriorate at much faster rate than the sub-urban areas. There are no adequate urban rehabilitation programmes for coping with this situation. Even the World Bank assisted Ibadan City Improvement Programmes (CIP) at communities like Yemetu, Mokola and Ogberé-Agugu were inadequate for the task of stopping the deterioration around the city core areas because of the inevitable disruption of the social and physical fabric of project areas and the failure to resolve conflicting goals. Rehabilitation and maintenance of social infrastructure are neither frequent nor adequate even when available.

Not Encouraging the Adoption of Dangerous Solutions

In the past, the solution to the slum problem often amounted to one word: clearance. In hindsight, it is clear that demolition often only added to the problem. The main achievement of slum clearance was to increase overcrowding elsewhere. It did more to improve transport than to solve the housing problem. In practice, most observers have always concluded that slum removal has had negative effects (Marris, 1960; Dwyer, 1975; Perlman, 1976; Valladares, 1978; Rodríguez and Icaza, 1993: 68). Relocation disrupts existing commercial and social networks, lengthens the journey to work, raises housing costs and generally disrupts people's lives. Fortunately, the validity of (Abrams, 1964) famous jibe against slum demolition was gradually absorbed in many cities: In a housing famine there is nothing that slum clearance can accomplish that cannot be done more efficiently by an earthquake. Demolition without replacement intensifies overcrowding and increases shelter cost. By the 1970s, the World Bank among others was pushing the dual concept of slum upgrading and sites and services (World Bank, 1974; 1980). Neither approach was perfect, but both represented a huge improvement on either clearance or the pretence of building perfect homes for imperfect people (Werlin, 1999).

Let me emphasize that the (UN-Habitat, 2003b) is actively campaigning against it. Nevertheless, their wise advice to upgrade settlements and avoid demolition is clearly being ignored by some governments. Meanwhile, more humane approaches to the slum problem elsewhere are proving less than effective. In Colombia and South Africa, for example, many poor people are being given subsidies to buy formal homes. However, not only is construction failing to keep up with demand, but some of the beneficiaries have sold their new homes because they cannot afford to pay the associated taxes and service charges (Huchzermeyer, 2003; Gilbert, 2004). New subsidized housing estates have arguably turned into social housing ghettos (Richards, 1995; Ducci, 1997).

In poorer environments, Turner (1976) points out, little purpose is served in providing a poor family with a fully serviced, three-bedroom house if the family cannot afford the rent or mortgage payment. And this leads to another myth: that improvement in housing can abate other, more fundamental inequalities. As such, Projects of slum clearance, site and service schemes, and model housing are too marginal to influence substantially either the flow of investment or the pattern of settlement and so, for the most part, are manipulated by the forces they seek to control. In cities with abject poverty, housing improvements can be counterproductive insofar as the priorities of the desperately poor almost always lie beyond shelter. Above all, the poor need to eat and to drink clean water. Overcrowding is clearly undesirable but hunger is worse. Campaigns against poor housing are to be welcomed, but such campaigns have to demonstrate that

they can really improve living conditions. Improving shelter does not demand the end of 'slums', which is unachievable, but to produce better housing conditions, which is.

6.0 Official Responses: Policies and Actions

Policies and programmes to eradicate or upgrade slums because of the growth of the city, the practice of planning and managing cities in Nigeria has become progressively more demanding in terms of resources, organisation and skill. Although the number and size of agencies responsible for generating policies and exerting powers in Nigerian cities have grown over the years, there has not been a corresponding improvement in the quantity and the quality of urban services rendered. According to (Egunjobi and Oladoja, 1987) not more than sixteen institutions directly involved in decision making for the Ibadan Metropolitan Area, besides local governments, there were state agencies such as the Town Planning Division of Oyo State Ministry of Local Government, Oyo State Property Development Corporation, Oyo State Water Corporation and federal agencies such PHCN and Nigerian Telecommunications Limited. An examination of the working of these agencies shows duplicity of functions and a lack of co-ordination among them (Egunjobi and Oladoja 1987). This mismanagement affects the whole city rather than just the slums. The absence of effective co-ordinating committees between these levels of government, have generally given rise to delays and confusion in the execution of urban politics.

The multiplication of local governments within the city has had a direct effect on the management of slums: any project for the renewal of the inner city, which is the biggest slum in Ibadan, requires the agreement of the five local government chairmen. Lack of professional capacity, frequent bureaucratic changes and competition instead of cooperation among the chairmen did not permit the governments to implement co-ordinated policies. Other reasons should be advanced to explain the very limited impact of government policies on the development of slums in Ibadan. On the one hand, most of the state governments in Nigeria have accorded very low priority to physical planning and most of the states in the Federation have not given the urban centres the priority and the resources they need (Onibokun, 1998). Actually, the lack of funds is one of the main constraints that local governments have to face. This institutional and financial framework has to be taken into consideration to understand why policies and programs have generally failed for the improvement of slums in Ibadan city. A more detailed analysis must also be addressed to understanding specific reasons of the failure for each case under consideration.

The Oyo State Urban Renewal Scheme, a World Bank Assisted Project: According to (Akinyode, 1998), the Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority in collaboration with the Ministry of Lands and Housing of Oyo State decided in 1988 to embark on the urban renewal of Ibadan. Actually, the project started earlier with a first pilot study commissioned in 1984 by the World Bank to the Town Planning Division of the Ministry of Local Government of Oyo State and called Upgrading of Core Areas: The major focus of the project was to improve various aspects of housing, living and environmental conditions of different slums in Ibadan.

The Urban Basic Services (UBS) Programme: This is a programme of co-operation between the Federal Government of Nigeria and UNICEF to tackle the problems of the urban poor especially women and children who are the mostly deprived of urban basic services such as water, sanitation, health, educational facilities, employment and shelter (FGN-UNICEF 1997). The programme contributes to the alleviation of urban poverty both in terms of income generation and improved access to basic services, thus reducing the incidence of Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances. The UBS programme activities were implemented in 72 slums and squatter communities including Ibadan, Lagos, Kaduna, Onitsha and Port Harcourt. In Ibadan, UBS projects are currently going on in four communities in Ayeye and Agebni in Ibadan North West Local Government and Mapo and Eleta in Ibadan South East Local Government (Wahab, 1998).

Multilateral Aid Programmes: The Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) is a joint initiative of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) and the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP). It was launched in August 1990, as part of the Urban Management Programme, in order to provide municipal authorities and their partners in the public, private and community/popular sectors with improved abilities and capacities for environmental planning and management (UNCHS 1996). Three priorities were identified: waste management, water supply and the Institutionalisation of the Environmental Planning and Management (EPM). Various parts of the city were selected, mainly at the outskirts. The objective of SIP was not to target specifically the slums of the city, but few parts of the city included in the project could be regarded as slums (Bodija Market and its immediate residential neighbourhoods and the southern outskirts of the city) (Adesanya 2000).

Community-Based and NGO-Based Programmes: The major objective of the Community Development Associations is the development of the communities of origin (usually outside Ibadan). This finding is important and demonstrates that people from the core area still have strong links with the countryside and that CDAs contribute by way of payments of levies, contributions and donations to the provision of infrastructure such as roads, schools, electricity and health facilities in their towns and villages of origin. The next most important CBOs in Ibadan are the co-operatives which have funds for lending to members with a view to assisting members in their businesses or ventures, purchasing goods in bulk and reselling to members.

The Oyo State Urban Renewal Schemes and the UBS Project: According to (Akinyode, 1998) the Oyo State Urban Renewal Schemes allowed the renewal of the three selected areas (Mokola, Yemetu, Agugu) between 1988 and 1995. The results for the three mentioned areas are as follows: though residential land use still takes the lion's share of the total land area, it has reduced in coverage to give room for the provision of new road construction, drainage, infrastructural facilities and open space for recreation. Moreover, a majority of the people of the selected areas estimated that the solid waste situation has improved during the past two years.

7.0 Combating the Challenges of Urban Slums in Ibadan City

According to (Alagbe & Adeboye, 2005), a squatter settlement which eventually leads to a slum is an inevitable phenomenon on the landscape of every urban center. As long as Ibadan city continues to offer economic opportunities such as salaried jobs, varieties of informal sector business enterprises, and the excitement of life, it will always continue to attract migrants from rural and smaller urban areas into the city, leading to more squatting and eventually more slums. The pertinent question is, how can the problem of slum development in Ibadan city be solved? Considering the inevitability of squatting by urban poor, there is no "quick fix" solution to the problem of slum development. However, the following suggested solutions will go a long way in providing succor to the problem of slum development.

Slum Upgrade: It is therefore suggested that instead of government and public authorities of state taking a confrontational attitude of demolition threat, they should strive to create an enabling environment under which people, using and generating their own resources, could find unique local solutions for their housing and shelter needs. This conceptual approach is referred to as slum upgrade. The concept envisages a situation whereby The State Government passes a bill through the State Assembly, urging inhabitants of identified slums within the State to upgrade their houses to a minimum standard, as specified by the physical planning authorities within a window period ranging from 18-24 months. It should be emphasized that defaulters after the window period will have penalties as deemed fit by the planning authority.

Sites-and-Services Schemes: The proliferation of slums and squatter settlements could be nipped in the bud simply by improving the environmental quality of these areas and by government providing the basic necessary infrastructure. This concept is known as the "sites-and-services schemes. (Srinivas, 2004b) defined "sites-and-services as the provision of plots of land, either on ownership or land lease tenure, along with a bare minimum of essential infrastructure needed for habitation". The sites-and services scheme approach advocated the role of government agencies only in the preparation of parcels or plots of land with certain basic infrastructure, which was to be sold outright to those that can afford it or to be leased to other low-income beneficiaries. The basic infrastructures to be provided in a housing scheme by the government apart from the plot of land are roads, water supply, drainage, electricity or a sanitary network. The peculiarity of sites-and-services schemes which made it to be a workable and acceptable concept of housing provision for the low-income class is that it adopts the same basic principle of the development of a squatter settlement but without degenerating into slums. This is achieved by leaving the actual house building to the beneficiaries themselves to use their own resources, such as informal finance or family labour and various other types of community participation modes to build their own houses. Another feature of the sites-and-services scheme is that the beneficiaries could also build their houses at their own pace, depending on the availability of financial and other resources.

Embracing Earth Building Technology: In keeping with (Alagbe & Adeboye, 2005) earth building technology should be embraced and developed, to provide low-cost housing that are indeed affordable by the low-income earners and the urban poor. Earth building technology involves the use of laterite and loamy soil that exist in abundant supply in all parts of the city. Building with earth apart from been economical, has been proved to be strong and durable (Bolyn Construction Company Ltd, 2010).

8.0 Recommendations

Financing urban infrastructure and services: The Nigerian government should identify, prioritize and initiate sustainable infrastructural development and also leverage on private partnership and participation.

Natural disasters: In order to mitigate annual flooding, the town planning authorities should be proactive and stop approving building plans on the flood-prone areas.

Public enlightenment: Geo-Knowledge should be advocated at all levels as this will improve the environmental awareness of Ibadan people. Geographic Information Management Systems Government should be sensitized to utilize the capabilities of the Geographic Information Systems in policy and decision making.

Partnership with the global community: It is essential that the city of Ibadan partner with identified communities around the world where urbanization had initially posed problem to its growth and development but which the people were able to come up with lasting solutions.

9.0 Conclusion

Government should not encourage the adoption of dangerous solutions and it is essential, for policy makers to take advantage of Geographic Information technology to gather, analyse and manage information in order to identify, prioritize and handle problems that emerge as a result of urban growth. There is no quick fix solution to the problem of slum development but it could be nipped in the bud. One of such approaches is the slum upgrade option, which will remove the confrontational attitude of government to squatting, and rather create an enabling environment under which inhabitants of such settlements could use and generate their own resources, using unique local solutions to solve their housing and shelter problems within a specified period.

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